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NATIONAL EDUCATION

BY

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10, ESPLANADE.

[One Anna]



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NATIONAL EDUCATION

FRIENDS,

In addressing you this afternoon on the subject of "National Education" I do not propose to trace the history of Education in India from the earliest times to the present day, even were material available for the purpose. But it is of essential importance to realise that there existed in India a magnificent system of Education ages before the West had any population at all, not to speak of civilisation. Those of you who are privileged to be able to read the Code of Manu in the original must have been struck first by the fact that the great Lawgiver places Education foremost in His order of Life, secondly by the wonderful beauty and detail of His system, wherein every temperament is alloted its appropriate training, and every citizen of either sex is given a suitable place in the scheme National life.

Even in the necessarily imperfect translations one cannot but be struck by that harmonious and detailed simplicity which at once stamps the Code of Manu with the hall-mark of transcendent genius. From the modern standpoint, I incline to think that the most remarkable feature of the Code, so far as it relates to Education, is its applicability at the present time. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that Manu's Educational scheme is the ideal scheme for modern conditions, and is only prevented from being given actual currency by the fact that we have some distance yet to go in the matter of Educational

readjustment before we can hope even roughly to approximate to the system propounded by Manu[1] hundreds of thousands of years ago.

However far we may have to go, it is none the less remarkable that the outstanding features of the great Rishi's Code are even now being haltingly and stumblingly groped after by the Nations of the present day. The foundation of His structure is that for individuals as for Nations there is a dominating goal of life influencing, modifying, directing each moment of existence, and called *Dharma*—a term for which the English word "Duty" is but a poor equivalent. Our Manu declares that each human being has his *Dharma*, by which we may understand the duty of living according to his inner nature, and of striving to attain the stage in front of him on his individual life's pathway. In other words, he must live according to the law of his individual being, so as gradually to approach the ideals which some day shall become manifest through him in all their perfection. And such individual Dharma depends in part upon the temperament to which he belongs, and in part upon the collective Dharma of the Nation of which he is a member. Hence, as regards the individual, the Caste system—a division of temperaments for the more perfect allocation of duties. Hence, as regards the Nation, a relation of individual Dharma to the needs of the community—each great temperamental division, Brahmana, Kshattriya, Vaishya, Ṣhudra, having its appropriate service to the Nation, its special function in the maintenance of National well-being. Dharma being thus the foundation of the Code of Manu, the division of duties according to temperament is seen to be the second great feature of this system, being the means whereby the nature of Dharma may

become known, and thus the appropriate place determined for every individual in the National life. The third outstanding characteristic is the place given to women, both as to education and as to position in the State. Indeed, from the modern standpoint, the girl received more education than the boy, for not only in all the various departments of education did she receive but little less instruction than the boy, but in addition we are told that in the fine arts her training was even more thorough than that of the boy, And as for physical training there is ample evidence that girls as well as boys were taught to give their bodies appropriate development, the nature of the general training depending partly upon sex and partly upon what I may call Caste-Dharma.

Now in modern days we are beginning vaguely to grope after these great and fundamental principles. So far as regards the West, education is of comparatively modern date, and, until quite recently, has been entirely individualistic, and, in accordance with the special phase of growth through which the West has been passing, competitive. Again, until quite recently, women have been accounted of little importance save as ministering to the more physical needs of their male relations—a distortion of the Dharma of women as regards their function in the home which has, to a not inconsiderable extent, vitiated the position of women in this country. But the intensification of National consciousness among the Nations of the world has caused us to make a sensible measure of approach to the ideal standard established in ages gone by by the Father of our race, and the shattering, through the War, of worn-out forms and superstitions is bringing us into touch with the great principle of education by which alone our Aryan family may accomplish the

Aryan-Dharma enjoined on it by those Divine Elders who, from the time of its coming into being, have watched over it on the path from unconsciousness to self-consciousness.

In the West, the first step towards the ideal of Dharma is seen in the idea of National Service which, since the War, has come into such prominence. Co-operation as a substitute for competition is a statement of the new stage of Dharma we are beginning to enter. At present, to the majority, National Service is synonymous with military service, because the Nations of the world have not yet outgrown the phase of competition, distrust, and contempt. But circumstances are gradually forcing us to recognise that the National well-being demands other services than the purely military. Agriculture must go on, industry must go on, sciences must go on; Education must go on; and we are being compelled to recognise that there is a very definite limit to the Kshattriya-strength of the Nation. In the existing confused system of National life, Manu's great fourfold division of temperaments has been lost sight of, and, as is the case in India, we ignore temperamental differences, thus destroying the efficiency of the Nation by distributing duty haphazard instead of according to individual Dharma. But from the general idea of National Service we shall gradually arrive at the truth that every member of a Nation is born into that Nation with the capacity of fulfilling a special temperamental duty, and, so, perhaps in new terms but in the old spirit, we shall once again see among us Brahmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras, whose Brahmana-Dharma, Kshattriya-Dharma, Vaishya-Dharma and Shudra-Dharma will be determined by the knowledge of the inner nature of each as showing the line along which the individual

may hope to render the most efficient service both to his surroundings and to the Nation. Similarly, the place of women is gradually beginning slowly to approximate to the place assigned them by Manu. In olden days, women had their appropriate place in National life as well as in the life of the home; they had obligations to the State as well as duties to the family. In modern times, shortly before the War, women were beginning to insist that they should share the guidance of the Nation, and since their unparalleled services to the Nation in the time of its greatest need, their place in National life has been indisputably secured. It remains, through experiment, to determine the nature of the services the State has a right to demand from its women, but I venture to predict that as the years pass women will by degrees settle down into the honoured position assigned to them by Manu, to the better fulfilment both of their individual Dharma and of their part in the collective Dharma of the Race. Finally, we are beginning to see a purpose in the life of a Nation, apart from that incomplete understanding of National Dharma which has led us to believe that conquest and aggression are the primary signs of National vitality. We are beginning to realise that Nations have their temperaments as well as individuals, have their Dharma to fulfil in contributing to the progress of the world. We are beginning to realise that a Nation has a responsibility towards the world as well as towards its individual members, just as the family has the twofold duty of ministering to the well-being of its component parts, and of contributing to the general good.

Above all, we must never forget that Manu places Education in the forefront of National duties, for "upon a thorough education depends the well-being

of the family, upon the well-being of the family depends the harmony of the social organisation, upon the harmony of the social organisation depends the economic prosperity of the community, and upon our economic soundness is based the vitality of the Nation as a whole".

Let us now take a cursory glance at the position of Education in modern times, especially, of course, with reference to India. It is abundantly clear that, at present, Education occupies a place inferior almost to every other department in the National life. I imagine that there is hardly a country in the world where the teacher is honoured as Manu would have him honoured. In India, it is true, until the advent of Western civilisation, the teacher was reverenced above all other efficials of the State. Even now the instinct of the student is to reverence his teacher, and it is amnsing to notice how our Western rulers are anxious to transfer that reverence to themselves. We are continually being told that the students have lost their traditional reverence for the Guru. I agree that Western methods have practically killed it. Nothing would be more absurd in a Western country than to suggest that the student should reverence his teacher. Respect him as an elder, yes; and that is the utmost than can be expected. In other words, there has grown up a race of teachers, both in England and in this country, entirely unworthy of reverence, and in many cases hardly even worthy of respect. This is not the fault of the teacher but of the system which makes the teacher a comparatively insignificant part of the machinery. Few men and women of ability, of power, of far-sightedness, would be likely to be attracted to the profession of teaching, when in other directions they could acquire so much more honoured a status and so

much wider an influence. I maintain that, with few exceptions, throughout our Empire those people become teachers who probably would not be able to make their way in any other profession. This degradation of the caste of true Brahmanas is responsible for most of the evil in the country, and bodes ill for the country's future. Where the teachers are honoured and revered as being the noblest among the Nation, there the Nation must inevitably be prosperous. For, if the teacher be worthy of his Dharma, his pupils will perfrom their Dharma worthily too. It is, to use a mild expression, unfortunate that those responsible for Education in this country are entirely out of touch with that spirit of Education which once made India glorious when India was the child-Nation, and which will beyond all doubt renew her splendour when once again she comes into her own.

Adapted to modern forms, we demand that an effort shall be made to approach more nearly to the ancient system, but with Europeans at the head of the Education Department this is impossible, and we therefore demand that the control of Education shall be in Indian hands. How many European teachers in this country have read the Laws of Manu in relation to Education, and of those who have read the Laws, how many are there who recognise in *them* the foundations of an ideal system? Were I to look on the British Empire alone, I confess I should be forced to the conclusion that Educational prospects are gloomy. In Great Britain, regardless of the future, teachers are being turned from infinitely more important duties to fight in the trenches. Everywhere Educational grants are being diminished or withheld, and the recent Report of the Medical Director under the Board of Education in England has revealed an appalling condition in the children of that

country. It is true that an Educational Reconstruction Committee has been appointed to consider the whole problem of our educational future, but that Committee is only concerned with Great Britain, and I do not expect much from any Committee that is not prepared to restore to Education its rightful place, *primus inter pares*. But when I look a little further afield the prospects become somewhat brighter. In Russia, for example, even in the midst of the War, the existence of which is generally an excuse for the Government not to do anything it does not want to do, opportunity has been found to make elementary Education compulsory throughout the Empire. In Baroda, in spite of many efforts on the part of Anglo-Indian journals to minimise all achievements, steady progress has been made, and while, on the one side, there is that ridiculous Patna University Bill which Behar will not take even as a gift, on the other side there is the new University of Mysore which seems to be established on sound lines. Then, by way of private effort. I must not omit to mention the magnificent work of the Arya Samaj, and the successes of institutions like the Gurukula at Hardwar, Rabindranath Tagore's School at Bholpur, and the Pachaiyappa establishments in various parts of this Presidency, and last, but not least, those admirable National Institutions in Southern India. I should like, also, to refer, if I may, to the Central Hindu College at Benares, which once was a truly National institution but which now appears to be groaning under the yoke of officialdom. You will notice, however, that where there is striking progress, there there is Indian control. This means that we must work for two things: first, for Home Rule—for the whole of the future of Education in this country depends on our obtaining, within a reasonable time,

our undoubted right to Self-Government within the Empire; and second for the Education of Indian youth, whether boys or girls, in Indian hands.

If Education were in Indian hands, what defects of the present system should we try to avoid? First and foremost, we should restore to the teacher his ancient and honorable place, and we should take the greatest care that none were permitted to enter the teaching profession unless they loved both India and India's children far better than they loved themselves. We should demand character before intellect, and in so doing we should simply be following Manu Himself, Who places intellectual education "after the training in cleanliness, in manners, in morals, and in the daily devotions". It may be doubted whether such teachers, with such qualifications, could possibly be forthcoming. In my opinion, with India gets Home Rule, so eager will she be to justify her entry into manhood that she will call upon her guardian Rishis to send down to her teachers of the ancient type to help in preparing Bharatvarsha worthily to assume her place among the Nations of the world.

Then, with regard to details of Education, we need only turn over the pages of Manu to find a system as suited to modern days as indisputably it made the greatness of India in the past. May I ask you, friends, not to condemn the past, simply because it is not clothed in the seemingly brighter colours of modern times? Western Nations, with their pride in that which they think they have evolved for themselves, with the older Nations of the world to add their homage to the worship of the products of the younger civilisations; it is like the child who says to its mother: "See, mother, look at my beautiful toy," and is angry if the mother does not join in the happiness of the

child, having, in fact, her own toys of far greater and more enduring worth. One result of this is the missionary in this country, and another is the idea that the very latest methods in Education have never before been known. Take, for example, the matter of physical training. The latest methods enjoin breathing exercises of various kinds. So did Manu. It must not be forgotten that part of the daily Sandhya, both for morning and evening, is concerned with breathing exercises *pranayama*. Why go to the West when we have all that we need at home? Again, if we had Home Rule we should take good care to see that every youth was given an opportunity to learn such exercises as might fit him to take part in the defence of his country. We would not make the training for the defence of India a matter of religion and of race as it is made to-day. In so doing, we should again be simply following Manu, who enjoins light military training for the three non-military castes, and rigid military discipline for the Kshattriya. The absence of such training is only too painfully clear when we look at the physique of modern young India.

Following Manu again, we should lay stress on that which, in modern days, is called religion, but which is, in reality, a part or an aspect of Dharma. We should do away with the present so-called neutrality of Government which, with the usual contrast between theory and practice, refuses the application of the Conscience Clause to Missionary Institutions, and we should show our pupils that religion, rightly understood, is but the Science of Life. In modern times, religion is far more form and ceremony than life, and it is not to be wondered at that many earnest men and women are averse from allowing such forms and ceremonies to be part of the School and College life. But I believe that

in this country, beyond all others it would be possible to train the young in educational Institutions in the spirit of religion, leaving the home to deal with such forms and ceromonies as may he appropriate to the caste and traditions of the family.

Then we would not fail to unload the present Curriculum. Manu gave time for the pupil to grow in; Western Education only gives space, and very little of that. Above all, boys and girls need leisure for growing, and, as a matter of fact, the word "School" is derived from the Greek word "Skole" meaning "leisure." They will grow none the less fast because they are allowed to grow naturally; nor will their efficiency be less. In this direction sensible tendencies are already showing themselves, as in the system of Dr. Montessori and in those of many schools in the United States. The cry nowadays is for leisure, and it is only because of the breathlessness and competition in the outer world that we find a reflected breathlessness and a rsflected competition at an age when it should be conspicuous by its absence. Under the modern system a youth is stunted physically and mentally, and is starved morally and emotionally. In India we care little about any other vehicle of consciousness save the mind, and the result is that, for too often, the mind has become the master instead of being but a servant. And from the tyranny of the mind has come that wave of materialism which, while it lasts, erects a formidable barrier between the Elder Brothers and Their struggling children in the world beyond.

Under Manu the school is a home, and the pupil in ancient India was literally "part of the family of the teacher. And Manu's Brahmana knows how to compel the gratitude and reverence of his beloved pupil by

unceasing offices of tenderness." Further, there is what Western peoples imagine to be the modern idea of residential Educational institutions. Manu, I am told, uses the phrase "neighbouring town" when He speaks of the duty of the duty of the pupil to ask for food for himself and for his teacher. This indicates, of course, that schools and colleges should be in the vicinity of towns, and not in the towns themselves, and it is most gratifying to notice that the trustees of Pachaiyappa's College are removing the institution to quarters more in keeping with the mandate of the Manu. Of course, under a Home Rule Educational policy, the teaching of the mother-tongue, of undistorted Indian history, and of the geography of the country, would have an important place; neither should we forget music or military training, and, as in the case of some other countries, every Educational Institution would have its industrial and its agricultural department, however modest and simple in extent.[1]

The following characteristics, in my opinion, should be present in every Educational institution in this country. First and foremost, the whole tone of the school or college depends, as I have already said, upon the character and nature of the teacher. While at present it is necessary to do the best we can and to take what teachers are available, trusting to their

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1 Following the example of French and German educational policy, now generally accepted in Great Britain as well, English would be taught by Indian teachers and not by Europeans. In very early years, perhaps, the child might have its English lessons from the native; but when the higher classes of the school are reached, English must be taught by an Indian. For detailed arguments with regard to this, I refer readers to the leading article in *New India* on 'Teaching and Foreigners" in the issue of November 21st, 1916 and to a short "Line" paragraph headed "Teachers of Foreign Languages" in the issue of November 30th of the same year.

enthusiasm to make them realise the essentials of a National Education, we must bear in mind that no permanent or widespread benefit can be expected, save as we send into the schools and colleges of India teachers and professors dominated by an intense patriotism, and by an intuitive insight into the needs of the Nation.

1. As was recommended the other day by the Tanjore Teachers' Guild, schools and colleges in India should revert to the ancient system of study in the morning and evening only. I do not deny that there are difficulties in the way of this. But the present method of having classes during the hottest portion of the day, and generally after the heavy morning meal, is most unhealthy and injurious, and only exists to suit the convenience of European ways of living.

2. We have to solve the difficulty of maintaining suitable Indian dress together with some uniformity which shall assist in producing and maintaining the sense of corporate life. The present tendency to wear some distorted form of European dress is responsible for a considerable amount of uncleanliness whioh would be avoided if a simple Indian costume were adhered to.

3. I regard it as essential that while the special religions of the pupils should receive adequate attention by being taught by suitable teachers, the school and college, as a whole, must stand for the fact that the Nation is above all differences of form. I think it, therefore, desirable that, while during the course of the school curriculum provision be made for iustructing the pupils in the special features of their respective faiths, every morning on the opening of sohool, and, if possible, every evening at its close, there should be a school and college gathering, in the course of which stress will be laid on the great fundamental and univer-

sal principles of life, with special reference, of course, to India, its past, its present, and its future.

4. I need hardly dwell upon the place of music in Education. Its value is fully recognised in other countries, and it is only because the European has been unable to understand Indian music, that it has failed to find a place in the Indian course of studies. It is true that Indian music, as we generally have it now, is not as National in tone as teachers would like it to be, but this defect would soon be remedied if a demand for National and martial music came from the Educational institutions. Indian music has an endless variety of possibilities and is complete enough to fulfil any demand made upon it.

5. An essential principal of all true Education, in my opinion, should be the absence of what are called "home lessons". Whatever preparation for the next day has to be done should form part of the ordinary period of instruction. There is plenty to do after school hours are over without continuing the intellectual side of instruction.

6. Provision should be made, as it is being made to-day in the United States, for the occupation of the students in their off hours, and during the recess periods. In one school in the Uuited States a carpenter's shop is going on all day, and into it pupils may go at any time when they are not otherwise specially enagaged. One of the great defects of modern education is that we do not provide for useful occupation when the intellectual and physical periods of instruction are over. The school ought to be a place through which the pupil gains the capacity usefully :to enjoy his leisure. We must not forget the full significance of the fact that "recreation" means re-creation.

7. I strongly advocate the necessity of having a Rest Room attached to every Educational institution, common to teachers and to taught. In the modern rush and hurry of civilisation, we need one place which shall be instinct with peace, and into which no one shall enter who does not desire to renew his strength through being bathed in the harmony of a vivid and re-creative stillness.

8. Within limits, I would make military training compulsory for every boy throughout the land, As a system, the Swiss method may be recommended.

9. From personal experience, I can confidently say that one of the most valuable Educational activities is the prefect and monitor system, when established on a proper basis. Many teachers are in the habit of making of their monitors nothing more nor less than spies. Under the true system, the perfect and the monitor are responsible, within reasonable limits, for the welfare of the School or College, In the Central Hindu College our prefect system was so much of a success, that after it was established punishments almost entirely ceased. This was due to the fact that, the right type of young man being chosen, he was able to use his influence in the proper spirit, with the result that when things went wrong he was able to put them right without having recourse to what are called disciplinary measures. In order that this system may be effective, a system of willing obedience must exist throughout the whole institution, on the part of the teachers as well as on the part of the taught. I, myself, was always most careful, not only to pay public deference to the prefects, but to submit myself to such orders coming from them as I knew to be within the province. If I thought the order unwise, I obeyed it first, and then

took steps to see that my prefects understood that in the future such an order should not be given.

10. The fundamental principle of Education is that no one can truly learn who does not also teach. It is a commonplace that teachers learn almost all they know by teaching their pupils. But it is equally true with regard to the pupils themselves, and for this reason I advocate the official establishment of Night Schools and Schools for poor children, as part of the Educational training that the pupils in the School proper are receiving. It is also a good plan, when a boy is weak in any particular subject, to try to find some one in the School even weaker than he, so that the one may become strong through teaching, and the other strong through being taught.

11. No School or College in India should be without its Hero Room. Our enthusiasm for the Motherland depends upon the past of the Motherland, and we must know about those who made that past glorious so that by reverencing them we may learn, however feebly, to imitate them. Every now and then a class may be taken in the Heroes' Room, the atmosphere of which will be charged with reverence and devotion, and some great Hero be talked about, and shown to be a great inspiration for us all.

12, Various forms of Social Service are, of course, essential, so that the pupil may realise that his dominant ideal is Service. The School and College are but larger families, the home being the unit. And if the spirit of the family is maintained in the School and College, it may be established also in the larger family of the outside world. But the happiness of the family depends on the willing service of its members, and it is only when the citizens of a Nation realise the imperative nature of the duties of

citizenship, that the Nation begins to become prosperous and contented. In the family service comes naturally through love. The spirit of love must permeate the School and College, so that there may be in them a similar origin of the desire for service. Service will thus become a habit not to be shaken off even by the too often friendless conditions obtaining in the outer world. In laying this foundation of service, we should be true to Manu's Code. The very word "Dharma" implies service according to temperament and capacity. And instead of being afraid of loving India, as so many of our young men are to-day, it would become our glory and our pride to be true to her in thought, in feeling and in action.

We must never forget that Education is Service, that Education is for the purpose of drawing from the inner nature the Divine capacity for self-sacrifice, upon which both the existence and the progress of this Universe depends. Every lesson, every game, every activity of School and College life, is to one end —to train the growing citizen to take joy in Service and is to contribute his or her share to the well-being of himself, his family, his community, the Nation; and in the growing citizen I include, of course, both boy and girl. It is the duty of the teacher by studying his pupils to bring them, so soon as may be, to a realisation of their temperamental Dharma, and thus to an understanding as to the quality of service it will be their privilege to render. In their teachers they should have examples of selfless service, and growing under the daily influence of such example, they should finally emerge from School and College with the spirit of service so strongly marked that they instinctively subordinate self-seeking to self-sacrifice. "What shall I be able to do for my country?" is a far more urgent

question than "How shall I grow rich?" It is far better for the individual (and for the Nation) to be poor in the useful service of the Nation than rich as the result of successful competition against his fellow-men. At present no parent would thank the teacher for inculcating this principle of life, but because it has not been inculcated in India, because the authorities have no need for it, public spirit in India has been poor, and few there are who truly love their Mother-land above all desire for personal welfare.

But only when, in Schools and Colleges, the youth of the Nation are trained to regard the service of the Nation, in however humble a way, as the highest privilege and greatest honour, will the National life of India become instinct with vigour and with its ancient splendour. And we sorely need teachers who, themselves animated by this spirit, will not hesitate to give to the India of the future a race of citizens who have been taught to prize and reverence her above all personal gain and profit. Such teachers need courage, for authorities and parents to-day prefer self-seeking to self-sacrifice. But the India of to-morrow will be grateful though the world of to-day may blame.

And now for a final word as to the present position of the Indian student. His position, I do not hesitate to say, is critical. India is passing through a period of transition, and the Indian student belongs to India as she will be, not to India as she is. For the most part, the elders of to-day, including, of course, the official classes, belong either to India as she is, or to India as she used to be. The Indian student has within him the qualities, and of course the defects, which will give India such place as she shall occupy in the future.

If we wish to know what India will be like in the uture, we may look at the Indian student of to-day.

And one characteristic emerges predominantly—a passionate devotion to his Motherland which, however much it may be stifled, can never be quenched. I grant there are many timid natures among young India to-day, but I continually wonder that there is not more timidity than seems to exist. The future is not yet with us, its strength has yet to come; in the meantime the tyranny of habit, of custom, almost, but not quite, overwhelms us. The force of inertia would keep us where we are, and those who have for so long held the power are loath to yield it to other hands. But no country can ever achieve her destiny save as she is guided by her own people, who share her spirit; and the time has come when, India, for the sake of the Empire no less than for her own, must take into her own hands the reins of government, and call from the past those great ideals which, if only our Western friends could realise, are, in reality, no less ideals for them than for the country which is the common home of every member of the Aryan Race. The youth of India knows its destiny, knows that the government of this country must come to it in the near future, and impulsively, as is the way of youth, presses forward to its inheritance. Only those who do not know can blame. Those who know recognise that through these young impetuous souls, full as they are of all that is Indian, are but coming into their own, are even now vaguely glimpsing the contrast between India free, and India, as she is to-day, enthralled.

The Colleges of British Universities are sending their undergraduates into the battle-fields for the sake of England's honour and for the Empire's freedom, and while they are so doing the undergraduates of Indian Colleges are told that the time of youth is for

study, and that they may neither share the fight in which their Western comrades are engaged nor the struggle which the elders of their race are making to win for India that very freedom for which the Empire is supposed to stand. It is doubtless true that the safety of the Empire is at stake, but so also, I emphatically declare, is the safety of India; for without India free neither can the Empire be free, nor shall the world be at peace. If the call ever came, as it ought to come, to India's young manhood to defend the Empire for the sake of India's freedom, would the bureaucrat still say that Indian youths must keep close to their studies and think only of themselves? Has the bureaucrat in England told the undergraduates of British Universities that they have no business to answer to their country's call, or does he applaud them and extol their patriotism? Are they truly friends of India who can, when the world is being made anew, when Nations are being builded, and peoples are being freed from tyranny, calmly tell the youth of India: "You have no share in the glorious work that has come to your fellow-students in almost every country of the world." This is, indeed, practically what the young men of India are being told every day, and they rebel, and I claim that they rightly rebel, against the insinuation that they are not fit to do the man's work in which their fellows are everywhere else being called upon to share.

India has before her two great Causes, both equally honourable, both equally worthy of her sons' devotion. One is the service of the Empire in her time of need, and the other is the service of the Motherland as she calls upon us to win for her Home Rule. As for service of the Empire little is asked, and I remember how, while I was in England,

when the Indian undergraduates of Cambridge University, in the fervour of their enthusiasm, offered themselves and their lives for the Empire's service on the outbreak of War, they were told that they were not wanted, and this while hundreds of their British fellow-undergraduates were accepted for training. If the service of one of these great Causes be thus denied to them, at least the other remains And in this other Cause, India, too, has her heroes, her Kitcheners, her Joffres, her Haigs; India has her Annie Besant, her Lajpat Rai, her Tilak, her Grand Old Man. Their work is none the less patriotic, none the less glorious, none the less necessary, because it does not happen to be on the battle-fields of France, on the shores of Gallipoli, or in the desert of Mesopotamia. Heroes of Empire are Kitchener and Haig and Joffre, indeed. But India declares that Annie Besant, too, is a hero of Empire, that Dadabhai Naoroji is a hero of Empire, and that Tilak is a hero of Empire, because they live but to see the Empire free, and in India's freedom is the freedom of the Empire. Wherever else we need a new angle of vision, we need it with regard to that which constitutes true service to a Nation, to a people, or to an Empire. The stress of the physical battle-field may be the destiny of some; the stress of a moral battle-field is the destiny of others. There is agony in both, hardship in both, defeat in both, glory in both—but a victory on the plains of France is no more a victory than a victory in the peaceful warfare our leaders are waging.

The other day the Bishop of Madras told as that there was no less education in the strenuous life of the trenches than in the book learning of the class room. You, young men, are not called upon to line the trenches or to come face to face with the enemy.

You can still go on with your studies and complete your educational careers; but this is no reason for not pledging yourselves to our Home Rule Cause, or from spending your available time in such service of your Motherland as may help her to draw nearer to her immediate goal. Our Home Rule Cause is no more political than the war against the Central Powers. We are far too willing to accept the bureaucratic statement that their 'doxy' is orthodoxy and that all other doxy is heterodoxy. Too often have we been told in the past that to think as they think, and to act as they act, is patriotism, and to think as we think, and to act, as we act, is disloyalty. Only the other day an official told one of the members of the Home Rule League that Mrs. Besant is a traitor. All I say in reply is: The more such traitors in India, the better for the security of the Empire. From now, we will place our own valuation upon our dreams and upon our aspirations, and I venture to predict to you young men, that as you act now, so will you be happy or miserable in your future life. There is a glorious opportunity before you—an opportunity to serve this Motherland as never before she has had occasion to be served. In the years to come you will see, as clearly as some of your elders see to-day, that in these days New India was made. And you will look at your own share. And will you, in misery and remorse, have to say to yourself: "I was timid. I stood aloof. I admired in secret but was cold in public. I used to say that I was with the patriots in my heart, but I knew, as I said it, that it was only an excuse for doing nothing. I refused openly to proclaim my leaders for fear lest my material prosperity should suffer. Not even called upon to act, except in trivial ways, I hardly even dared to speak, still less to associate myself with those who were bear-

ing the hatred and the contempt of that anti-National party which wished to see India still kept in slavery"? Or shall you say: "I, too, suffered, but gladly suffered. I was with my leaders heart and soul, and I cared not who knew the objects of my allegiance. I worked at my studies more diligently, I trained my body more carefully, I led a more cleanly life: not for my own sake but for the sake of the India which was being born in the hearts of her devotees. Shoulder to shoulder was I with those who bore the brunt of the fight. What they asked me to do, that I did. That which they asked me not to do, I refrained from doing. I showed my love of country in action rather than in noisy speech. I felt I was as a soldier under orders, and I knew that in the midst of the fight I must diligently obey"?

Friends, either of these thoughts that I have clothed in words you will be thinking in the days to come. Nay, more. as you think and feel and act today, so will greater opportunity for service to your beloved Motherland come to you, or be denied to you. Remember, the great Rishis of the Race are watching tenderly over us all, for it may be that even now we are building out of India's past an India fit once more to welcome them to live among Their children. The Elder Brethern of our race are with us. Shall we, under Their very eyes, prove unworthy of Their trust in us? The youth of India has served her well in times gone by. Did not Shri Ramachandra and his brother Lakshmana fight against the Rakshasas? Did not Kusha and Lava as mere boys fight in their Father's armies? Did not Abhimanyu, great son of Arjuna, when a boy of hardly sixteen, lead a whole division of the army of the Pandavas, and are not his deeds of valour imperishably recorded in the *Mahabharata*? Did not Akbar capture

Delhi at the age of twelve? Did not Shivaji begin his wonderful career when barely nineteen? Madhava Rao was but seventeen when he began the rebuilding of the Mahratta Empire after it had almost disappeared from the land: and you all know that Guru Nanak was but a child of nine when he began his great religious Crusade, and founded the magnificent religion of the Sikhs.

You, too, are called upon to serve, and your service is none the less strenuous because it is a service of peace and not of war. Be worthy of your Indian birthright, even though your education and surroundings are all against the display of the sublimer virtues of mankind. With your own hands make India a glad dwelling place for her future sons. So shall you be honoured as true Aryans and true sons of the blessed Manu Vaivaswata Who ever watches over the children of His Race.

APPENDIX A

Compulsory Education.

All who are interested in the National welfare would do well carefully to study the speeches in the Imperial Legislative Council both on Mr. Gokhale's resolution on Elementary Education in 1910 and on his Elementary Education Bill of 1911. The Resolution of 1910 ran as follows:

"That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making Elementary Education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed Commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals."

In the course of his speech, India's great Statesman pointed out that the Ripon Commission of 1882 made two important recommendations. The first was:

" While every branch of education might justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be in still larger measure than before."

And the second was:

"An attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances ofeach province."

Over thirty-three years have passed since that Commission adopted these two resolutions, and after 1882 little progress can be recorded, partly owing to the Indian Universities Act of 1904, and partly to the absurd idea of the authorities that official attention should mainly be concentrated on the provision of expensive model schools. As Mr. Gokhale points out the progress of Education in India is in striking contrast to the progress of Education in Japan. In 1872 the Mikado declared: " It is designed henceforth that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, or a family with an ignorant neighbour." In Japan, to-day, education is free and compulsory, and the percentage of attendance is extraordinarily high,

In closing his speech on the Resolution, Mr.Gokhale made some remarks which are worthy of careful note:

" In any case the Government, I trust, will not do two things. I trust, they will not make a definite pronouncement against the principle of free and compulsory education to-day, and I also trust that the resolution which I have moved will not be brushed aside on the plea that the condition of the finances does not

admit of the proposals being maintained. My Lord, there is much truth in the homely adage that where there is a will there is a way. I think that this question of compulsory and free primary education is now in this country the question of questions. The well-being of millions upon millions of children who are waiting to be brought under the humanising influence of education depends upon it. The increased efficiency of the individual, the higher general level of intelligence, the stiffening of the moral backbone of large sections of the community, none of these things can come without such education. In fact, the whole of our future as a nation is inextricably bound up with it. My Lord, however this resolution may be disposed here to-day I feel that in this matter we are bound to win. The practice of the whole civilised world, the sympathies of the British democracy and our own natural and legitimate aspirations of which Your Lordship has more than once admitted the reasonableness, all these are united in its favour. This resolution will come up again and again before this Council till it is carried to a successful issue. My Lord, I earnestly hope that the Government will read aright the needs of the situation and not fail to move with the times in this matter. To my mind the call of duty to them is clear, and it is also the call of statesmanship—that statemanship which pursues, unhasting but unresting, the highest interest of the people committed to its care."

Needless to add, the Bill was rejected by the usual official majority.

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